App. F. IX-4

1928-29

File No. 62/4

Previous References

CS 219-23-1
CS 166-4-1
CS 166-4-2

Serial No. 5

Preserve

Later References

CS 62-4-16
CS 57-4-1
" 52-29-4
CS 38-32-5
CS 28-33-8
CS 53-34-2
CS 54-84-2
" 53-4-7
" 43-35-243

Serial No. 5

General and Revenue Secretariat.

Part B for Dec. 1928

SUBJECT

Resolution re: appointment of a non-official Executive Councillor (December 1928)

DEWAN'S OFFICE
3 DEC 1928
No. 9520

THE MYSORE LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL

December Session, 1928.

CS 2077

Mover Mr D. S. Mallappa.

CS 62-28-5

CS 166-26-27

214-27

Resolution No. 79

This Council recommends to the Government of His Highness the Maharaja that early steps be taken to secure the appointment of a non-official Executive Councillor.

R.A. announ: Oct 22
K.C Ap 28
K.C June 25
K.C June 28

The question was discussed in some detail at the Budget session of the Leg Council (June 1928) and the First Member of Council (who presided over the deliberations) promised that the views expressed would be duly submitted to H H An extract from the discussions to put up for refee

Note H F gives the previous history (if all previous discussions are needed they will be traced & put up).

CHIEF SECRETARY
30 NOV 1928

Submd
CSR
30/11/28

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30/11

Dhm Menelia 30/11

1/12/28

3/12/28

30.11

Proof of Proceedings of Mysore Leg. Council
23rd June 1928

Cut Motion No. 75. Mover.—Mr. D. V. Gundappa.

MR D. V GUNDAPPA.—Sir, I beg to move that the demand under "12 General Administration" be reduced by Rs. 100

I beg to be permitted to use this motion as an opportunity for reminding the Government to a very gracious assurance given to the people so long ago as 1922, regarding the more intimate and responsible association of the representatives of the people with the actual business of the administration of the country. Sir in that year—the year in which the scheme of Reforms under which we are now working was foreshadowed in the course of the announcement,—Sir Albion Banerji as Dewan was pleased to observe as follows :—

"In regard to the administrative machinery of the Central Government, representations have been made in this Assembly and elsewhere for the introduction of the non-official element into the Executive Council of His Highness the Maharaja With reference to this, I am commanded by His Highness to say that there is nothing in the announcement I have made to you to-day about giving enlarged powers to the constitutional assemblies of the State, that need stand in the way of the appointment, at His Highness' pleasure and when circumstances permit, of any member of this Assembly, or of the Legislative Council to a seat in the Executive Council."

This announcement roused large hopes in the minds of the people. If nothing else, it amounted to an admission of the legitimacy and reasonableness of the aspirations of the people. Two years, and three, elapsed ; and nothing by way of action followed. So in the year 1925, at a session of this very House, the non-official section of it adopted a resolution reminding the Government of the urgency and importance of this measure of constitutional reform in our State. It is now three years since then, and nothing by way of the reform suggested has come about. This, I beg to submit, Sir, is a matter of some concern to all interested in the promotion and the development of citizenship in our country. I might remind this House that though we started on the career of Representative Government—the career of associating the people with the active business of the Government—so long ago as 1881, and though the National Congress was started only four years later *i.e.*, in 1885, to-day we are in the somewhat unflattering position of finding ourselves in Mysore behind British India. There, in the Provinces in part at least, responsible Government

has come to be a fact. Of course, the success of that scheme of responsible Government—a partially responsible Government, Diarchy as it is called,—is confined to particular areas. In other areas where it has been tried, it has not proved exactly a success, but this is because of reasons not existing in Mysore. Racial factors, and national factors have come into play there and have not helped the success of Diarchy. But here, we have no such complicating elements; and the atmosphere here, if anything, is more favourable to the promotion of responsible Government. I do not now ask that all of a sudden we should go in for that system of Government. I recognise, as even the British Parliament did, that it is a goal that can be achieved by a gradual steady and ordered progress; but a step must be taken in that direction. Our eyes should be forward-looking, and we should not blink at the long-cherished and very popularly cherished goal.

Sir, it is, I think, not necessary for me to expatiate upon the merits of that system of Government as compared with other systems. I take it, it is universally recognised that if our country is to prosper and rise to the level of progress equal to that of the other nations of the world, a new impetus should be given to the life of the people. We want an upliftment of the whole level of political life in the country. We want that every citizen of the State, that every subject of His Highness the Maharaja, should come to feel that the State is personally as much his own concern as that of any high officer of Government. We want every single subject of His Highness to identify himself whole-heartedly and actively—let me stress that point—with the business of Government. If this is to be done, a quicker impetus should be given to the impulse of citizenship and that can only be done by giving the people some responsible share,—I will not be very exact about it, but I generally ask for some responsible share,—in the active administration of the country.

Sir, at this Session and at previous Sessions, Government have been hearing various criticisms regarding their actions and various suggestions are being made for the improvement of the state of affairs. But in most cases, their suggestions have been set down as generally impracticable, to put it very mildly. Either the members are being proved to be not exactly very well informed or not very careful in their suggestions. That is only to be expected under the existing state of affairs. But the non-officials

at the same time, feel that they come here to do the business of the State, after having bestowed as much thought as is possible for them over the problems of the country; and they think that their suggestions deserve sympathetic consideration at the hands of the Government. No doubt the Members of Government and the Dewan are pleased to assure us time after time that our suggestions and representations are being sympathetically considered; but we should like to have some assurance even surer than that. We should like to feel that there is some one in the innermost councils of the Government itself who will, on every available occasion, press our views, and on every occasion look at the public problems from our point of view. For example, we have been putting forward suggestions of retrenchments here and there. I confess we do not come here with tabloids of concentrated wisdom. We do not pretend to be incarnations of Brihaspati. But I claim that we come here with suggestions which can be acted upon, if not wholly, at least partly. I daresay Government have been giving very sympathetic considerations to them; but we feel that if one of our own were there, he would view our representations and suggestions with a better insight into the popular feelings. Therefore, we are very particular that some one chosen from among us should be in the innermost councils of the Government.

At present, non-official effort has in this State been very largely unfructuous and it is a discouraging feature. It is generally said that in India, the politicians—the non-official representatives in the Legislative Council and the Assembly—are destructive critics, and they generally lack the sense of responsibility.....Sir, It is only to be expected under the existing system, because no responsibility is cast upon us of finding solutions. If we had had any share in the actual constructive work of Government, I daresay there are many people among us who could come forward to shoulder the responsibility of constructing Governments or accepting challenges. I may just refer to the example of the Labour Party in England. A challenge was being thrown to Labour time after time in England that it might construct a Government, that it might put its policies into operation and that it might run the Empire. When the proper time came, I think the Labour Party proved equal to the occasion, rose to a great height and accomplished a little which is not altogether to its discredit. Similarly, non-official opinion in this country is feeling confident.

Therefore, Sir, I put it very humbly and very earnestly that it is time for our Government to seriously think of granting some measure of reform in this direction, *viz.*, active association of representatives of the people with the actual day-to-day business of the Government.

Sir, I confessed time and again that if any part of our suggestions is considered impracticable, if any of it is found to be unreasonable, such impracticability and unreasonableness of our suggestion is to be attributed to want of technical advice and actual experience on the part of non-official members; and they have not the opportunity of equipping themselves in this direction just at present. If one of us is taken into the Councils of Government, I think he would be in a better position to get initiated into the mysteries of the Government and study the problems of administration at first hand. It is an educative process; and for this purpose of educating the non-official public, it is absolutely necessary that some representatives from this House as well as from the other House should be found in the Councils of Government.

It is also said that there is a paucity of public life in our country and that public opinion here is not as vigilant as would be necessary for the successful carrying of a system of responsible Government. How is that public life to be built up? Government have very wisely and patriotically put through certain pieces of legislation relating to Local Self-Government.

Rajakaryaprasakta Diwan Bahadur M. N. KRISHNA RAO (First Member of Council).—This is a large constitutional problem. And in view of the limited time at our disposal it is desirable to shorten the discussion about it.

MR. D. V. GUNDAPPA.—I shall not take up more than five minutes. I believe that as an incentive to non-official public work, some such prize should be created at the top. On this subject, I shall not dilate very much, but I shall just read to this House a very valuable extract from a certain communication made by Sir Narayan Chandavarkar. It is as follows:—

"In 1910.....

There are no higher places open to the representatives of the people in Mysore. In British India, the public men and the politicians play their part on large and almost world-wide theatres. They can go out as ambassadors, as international missionaries: and they go to England

on all sorts of commissions. They are also appointed on the Viceroy's Council and other Committees. There are all these privileges made available to our neighbours in British India. But here we are dwarfed. Our political stature is very low and stunted. For these reasons and for the purpose of building up citizenship and giving the people a greater assurance that their prayers and suggestions are receiving sympathetic consideration, I consider it absolutely essential that there should be at least two or three representing both this House and the Representative Assembly in the Executive Council of His Highness the Maharaja.

We have a large programme to go through and I shall therefore close with this prayer that the advisers of His Highness the Maharaja may be pleased to submit to His Highness an early report about the strength of public feeling in this behalf, about the unanimity of their aspiration and about the inexpediency of deferring hope indefinitely.

MR. D. H. CHANDRASEKHARAIYA.—Sir, in agreeing with the observations made by Mr. D. V. Gundappa, I beg to say a few words. It is a well known fact that our own State is enjoying a peculiar constitution with a happy combination of various interests under the benign rule of our Highness the Maharaja. He is truly held up as the model for any prince in India, in view of his keen interest in advancing the happiness and prosperity if his dear people who all feel eternally grateful to him for his many sided favours. One of such favours reveals itself in the direction of constitutional reforms. For, under the stress of these democratic times, he has been pleased to take us into his confidence and conferred upon us various constitutional powers and privileges from time to time. The existence of the two constitutional bodies, *viz.*, the Representative Assembly and the Legislative Council, with further reforms effected about five years ago is an evidence to show how our administration takes note at every step of the views of the people in the country. We are functioning in these two capacities during the past many years, and the Government have doubtless derived much benefit from the deliberations of these two bodies. The wisdom and co-operation of the representatives have been recognised by successive Dewans of Mysore with a full sense of gratefulness and respect to them. Thus arises a case for further reform.

Now, a further reform enhancing the prestige and dignity of the people is prayed from our Highness, and

as already referred to, His Highness' intentions in this direction are long before the public through the announcement of Sir Albion Banerji in the year 1923. That announcement goes to say that in course of time a non-official member will be appointed to the Executive Council of our State. We now press for the fulfilment of this promise. During the past five years, we are urging for the conferment of this privilege but we are left to feel as though our prayers are slighted with contempt. After all we are not asking for an unheard of boon, for already in British India a privilege of this sort has been given to non-officials. There, as we know, the Ministers are elected by the members of the Legislative Council from amongst their own ranks and are held directly responsible to the Council for their actions. Such a constitutional reform is lacking here, although we are supposed to be much in advance of British India. I beg to state that if this privilege were to be granted to the constitutional bodies of our State, there will be no doubt that the dignity and responsibilities of the two Houses will in a great measure increase. Further, the official and the bureaucratic aspect of the administration that we are now possessing will to a great extent be tempered by the appointment of a non-official to the Executive Council of our State. As has already been referred to, there will be a great scope for the non-official members who might come to occupy such positions of great trust and re[illegible]bility, to undergo training in administration. In view of these considerations, I beg to urge on the attention of Government that they may kindly take speedy action in the matter and thus fulfil our humble prayer.

MR. S. VENKATESIAH.—I understand that there is a general unanimity of opinion on this subject in the non-official benches. I do not think it is necessary to reiterate the arguments that have been advanced by my friends who spoke before me. I should like to press two points, however. There were one or two statements made on behalf of His Highness' Government which raised hopes which have not been fulfilled. At the time of the inauguration of the Reforms it was not a mere announcement, but, I may remind the members of Government that there was a general discussion on this subject in the Representative Assembly, when Sir Albion Banerji, did not merely concede the point, but actually entered into a discussion with us in regard to the field and methods of choice. He was advising us in our own interests not to restrict the field of

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choice. As you and your colleague, Mr. Matthan, will remember Sir, the Reforms Committee also made a proposal strongly supporting the same view, and it had the assent of Rajasabhabhushana Diwan Bahadur Sir K. P. Puttanna Chetty, whose support in such a matter is invaluable, he having had the experience of a long period of official life and a period of non-official life almost approaching the same length. With that record, I should say, that, it adds weight to the non-official opinion in the country, and it should prove that there is no difficulty in the matter. Mr. D. V. Gundappa referred to the oft-quoted difficulty of finding competent men for an important place of trust and responsibility like that of the executive council and in that connection, he referred to the achievements of the Labour party in England. I have two instances to bring to the notice of this Council, where men who were accused of a lack of constructive ability and efficiency at first, subsequently proved to be the very best of administrators. Those of us who have followed the course of events in England will remember the case of Mr. Lloyd George. During the long period of the liberal party's exclusion from administration Mr. Lloyd George was one of the most destructive critics of the Conservative Government and even liberal leaders doubted whether he would be a good administrator. During the war, he was found to be the only indispensable administrator fit to be at the head of the Government. He was one of the greatest politicians and proved to be one of the greatest businessmen.

And the other earlier examples of the fourth party, who formed a party for the sole purpose of destructive criticism. They all adorn the pages of English History as successful administrators and statesmen later on. The plea of the want of capable men having been urged for nearly a score of years in British India, the real fear entertained has now been discovered to have been whether the non-officials can keep secrets entrusted to them and whether the difference of race can be got over. But experiments have amply proved it successful and it has been found that there is no paucity of successful administrators since the reforms were introduced, as could be seen from the fact that to one councillor who was appointed at first two more were added later to the Executive Councils of British India. Under these circumstances, the plea of inability to find the required sort of men with the necessary administrative ability is one which cannot any longer hold good.

It has been claimed for the Government of His Highness the Maharaja by successive administrators that there is an identity of interest between the people and the Government and that their sympathies are with the representatives of the people and that there is no need for a non-official member to the Executive Council. If it were so, how is it that for over a decade it has been found impossible to give effect to the community of interests and sympathies? In reality is there is no difference and divergence of interest between the Government and the people, is there no divergence in the attitude of mind and habits after 20 years in administration services? I would therefore submit that the appointment of a non-official councillor to the Executive Council of the State would always be a valuable acquisition of strength in administration and therefore I would respectfully urge you to submit to His Highness our earnest prayers and that you will advise that as our interests and sympathies are the same our actions also should run in the same channel.

Rajasabhabhushana Diwan Bahadur SIR K. P. PUTTANNA CHETTY.—Sir, I am glad that this old question has been raised by the members of this House. I cannot let this occasion pass without adding my voice in support of the proposition. This is not the first time that I have advocated the appointment of a non-official member to the Executive Council of the Mysore State. I think on several previous occasions, I have spoken strongly in support of it. The goal of all governments is, as we now see, the attainment of responsible Government. One of the first steps that will have to be taken towards this end is to admit competent non-officials into the inner councils of Government. We are not assuming too much when we ask this. I have no hesitation in saying, Sir, that amongst the loyal subjects of His Highness the Maharaja there are several competent men with requisite character, ability and experience from whom selection may be made. Some of them have received a tarining in Local Self-Government and other spheres of activity it is only proper that they should be given the chance of serving in the highest sphere of administration. Such a step, if adopted by His Highness the Maharaja of Mysore, have the effect of sending a thrill into the body politic and raising the whole non-official world, first of all in their own estimation and then in the estimation of the world. The greatest uplift that can be given to the non-officials is, the appointment of one of them to sit in

the Executive Council. Such a thing was graciously promised when the reforms were inaugurated and it has been reiterated more than once, by the Head of Government in this House and in the other House. It is only right that an early opportunity should be taken to introduce this much desired reform by taking into the Council one chosen from among the people—a non-official representative—who will bring to the Councils of the State a mind which reflects the best opinion of the non-official public and which has not been trained exclusively in the official grove. Such a step will be hailed by the public as a great advance in the reforms which His Highness the Maharaja of Mysore has given us, and I, for one, would feel very happy when that time comes.

Rajakaryaprasakta Diwan Bahadur M. N. KRISHNA RAO (First Member of Council).—The views expressed in the course of the discussion of this motion will be duly submitted to His Highness the Maharaja.

MR. H. C. DASAPPA.—I think we will only be strengthening the hands of Government if our views are submitted to His Highness.

*MR. NILIGIRI SANJEEVIAH.—There is no doubt that a non-official councillor should be appointed to the Executive Council. But, what sort of a person he should be is the point that should be considered first. If the choice is left to Government, it is just possible that they would select one who does not command the confidence of the people. The Councillor should be selected on the vote of the Representative Assembly. There is no use of appointing a Municipal Councillor or a District Board member who may not command the confidence of the constitutional bodies of the State. Subject to this condition, I plead for a non-official Councillor.

MR. H. C. DASAPPA.—Sir, the subject is of such a vast importance that I crave your permission to express a few more words.

Rajakaryaprasakta Diwan Bahadur M. N. KRISHNA RAO (First Member of Council).—I have no objection. But, let us not spend all the time on one motion.

MR. H. C. DASAPPA.—I am thankful to my honourable friend Mr. D. V. Gundappa for raising so vast and important an issue as this on the cut motion for debate. The great

*Not revised by the Member.

constitutionalist that he is, it is but appropriate that he should have sponsered this motion. What we are seeking for is not an irrational or an extravagant demand. I beg to submit it is only a necessary step that justifies the course of a conduct adopted hitherto in taking people into the confidence of the administration, and in paving the way for further reforms towards democratic administration. The reforms that were introduced five years ago by His Highness the Maharaja formed a great advance on the system of administration that existed before. This would only be a logical development of the same. We establish a necessary link, a missing link between the Legislature, the Representative Assembly and the Government. It is very necessary, if there should be on the one hand responsible criticisms by these bodies and on the other responsiveness on the part of Government.

Rajakaryaprasakta Diwan Bahadur M. N. KRISHNA RAO (First Member of Council).—There is no lack of responsiveness

MR. H. C. DASAPPA.—For aught I know, if the Government have been so responsive as we desire, there would not have been any occasion for us to launch out so much of criticism. My submission is that if the administration is to be conducted by a system of bureaucracy which cannot claim intimate touch with the people and does not come into touch with the present currents and forces that are moving the people of the country then, it cannot make for that healthy response for which we are fighting so much. I have been at pains to discover what might be an objection for granting this request of ours. We are very grateful to you, Sir, for having been pleased to say that you are prepared to submit the views of this Council for the gracious consideration of His Highness the Maharaja. In that connection all that we would like to stress upon is that there is experience, wisdom and sympathetic outlook on the non-official side, which, if not anything is at least as good as that possessed by the members of Government, as administration is constituted now. It has been stated already by my friend, Mr. D. V. Gundappa and others, that unless there is a suitable prize for public service, unless there is some scope left for the people who are devoted to public service, to look up for places of influence and responsibility and to fulfil their legitimate ambition, and also to find an outlet for their activities, it would not be

possible to expect the best of public service. If the honourable members on the non-official side were only to feel that they have to talk out matters, with the possibility of bringing influence on the Government and to lay their suggestions at their tender mercies, I am afraid that would neither be encouraging public service nor paving the way towards a democratic Government. My honourable friend Mr. D. V. Gundappa has said that at least two or three more non-officials be associated with Government. I am conscious that we are talking a great deal about retrenchment and that it would not be possible on the part of Government of His Highness the Maharaja to accept that suggestion of two or three non-officials being associated with Government at the present time. I say that, as a first step, it should be possible for at least one member to be taken from the non-official side and associated with Government.

With these observations, I beg to commend the motion of my honourable friend for the kind consideration of the House.

Rajakaryaprasakta Diwan Bahadur M. N. KRISHNA RAO (First Member of Council).—I have already stated that the views expressed in the course of the discussion of this cut motion will be submitted to His Highness the Maharaja of Mysore. I do not suppose the mover proposes to press the motion for division.

MR. D. V. GUNDAPPA.—Since it has been recognised by the chair that in the wishes I have given expression to the members are united on this side of the House, pressing this motion to a division would be of no particular significance. Because, I am certain that it will be carried unanimously by the non-official side. Since you have recognised this, Sir, from the chair there is no meaning in pressing the motion to division. It would be superfluous. If the assurance from the chair had been less encouraging, if it had been less sympathetic, I might have thought it necessary to press the House to a division.

MR. H. C. DASAPPA.—I may be permitted to say that the views of the non-official members may be recorded.

MR. D. V. GUNDAPPA.—Sir, I am of mixed feelings just now. I am full of regret that much time has been taken. On the other hand, I feel also that this is an occasion to exhibit how strong and united our feelings are. This is, if I may say so, a rock-bottom issue, a fundamental first-rate constitutional issue. We can afford to leave other

items undiscussed, but we cannot afford to leave this question, which relates to our constitutional powers, neglected and left uncared for. Therefore we have taken a little time. I implore you to bear with us just for a minute if I try to make a reply to my two critics Messrs. S. Venkatesaiya and N. G. Sanjeeviah. I assure Mr. Sanjeeviah that since the member will be chosen from the Assembly or from this House, he will hold office only so long as he will continue to be a member of this or the other House and so long, also, as the members of these bodies will allow him to hold office.

Next, in reply to a remark of my friend, Mr. H. C. Dasappa, you were pleased to say that the Government have been responsive. I recognise that they have been responsive to some extent. But, at the same time, I feel that, considering the laws of human psycology, departmentalism often comes into play as against the suggestions and recommendations which we here venture to make there are the indomitable secretaries and the invincible Heads of Departments to influence the policies of Government, working above our heads and behind our backs. As against them we should like to have some one of our own.

In 1881, when the Executive Council was first created in the State, there were two non-officials; one was Mr. A. Sabhapathi Mudaliar and the other Mr. A. Krishna Rao. They were men who had retired from service under the British Commission after an honourable record; and I think, they might very properly be termed non-officials.

Mr. S. Venkatesiah mentioned two instances from England. We have two instances nearer home—one who sat among us here at the last Budget Session of this House and is now adorning the beuch of the Chief Court and is doing duties not less onerous, not less responsible and not les important than those performed by our Members of Government. I think the duties of the highest tribunal in the land are quite as important duties as these entrusted to a Member of Council. Again, yesterday or the day before, we had the privilege of listening to a speech weighted with a sense of executive responsibility from our esteemed friend, Khan Bhadur Mahomed Abbas Khan. He has shown how a non-official can understand the difficulties of the executive and appreciate the importance of ordered progress in all directions. He has very creditably been managing,—if I may say so without impertinence,—the affairs of the largest municipality in the State.

Sir I again appeal to the Government that they may be pleased to take a sympathetic and friendly view of the aspirations of the people expressed with such unanimity of feeling and emphasis by the members. This prayer might be very respectfully with the humble duties of this side of the House added, submitted to His Highness for his gracious consideration, together with the strong recommendation and support of His Highness' own Executive Council added.

Confident in the hope that Government will be pleased to do so, I beg leave to withdraw the motion.

The motion was thereupon by leave withdrawn.

DEMAND No. 7.

Cut motion No. 76.—Not considered.

Cut motion No. 77. Mover :— Messrs. D. S. Mallappa ; M. C. Linge Gowda ; H. B. Gundappa; Nilgiri Sanjeeviah ; S. C. Mallaiya and V. Venkataappa.

MR. D. S. MALLAPPA.—I beg to move that the demand under 12, General Administration for Dewan and Members of Council be reduced by Re. '

The object of this cut motion is to bring to the notice of Government the way in which the non-official business of the Assembly is treated by the present Government.

MR. S. VENKATESAIYA.—May I say that this question might be discussed before the President, when he is present ?

Rajkaryaprasakta Diwan Bahadur M. N. KRISHNA RAO (First Member of Council).—I think we have to take up the cut motion. We cannot pass over this motion and return again to its discussion. But how does this point arise here ?

MR. D. S. MALLAPPA. Because, it is a question of general administration.

I think I am justified in referring to a matter which refers to the business of both the Houses.

The object of moving this cut motion is to ventilate our grievances with regard to the work turned out in the popular representative bodies. In the Representative Assembly we passed several resolutions, and most of them are not either carried out, or at least sympathetically viewed by the Government. Hitherto the practice was, that, if any bill were to be thrown out in the Representative Assembly, the Government were not introducing it before the Council and, if necessary, they used to refer the bill once again to the Assembly. Till about a year ago, we had no instance of any bill which was thrown out in the Assembly,